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This is material for item 4 of the agenda for the meeting of the CIA Career Council scheduled for 23 January 1958

REVISED DRAFT

THE PROGRAM
for the
HARVARD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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I. THE NEED

It is a truism that foreign affairs in our era pose unprecedented tasks. But the full sweep of the challenge is not always grasped. The heavy burden on our physical and financial means tends sometimes to divert attention from the even more critical demands on knowledge, understanding and creative thought. In these fields the requirements still far outrun existing resources. The causes are apparent but worth restating.

For the first time in history international relations have become truly world-wide. Until modern times the various geographic regions pursued their courses with little or no regular contact. In the heyday of colonialism world affairs were mainly European affairs. Today no region is isolated, none can be ignored; actions and events even in remote places may have immediate world-wide impact. The fate of every nation and people is bound up in some degree with that of many other countries around the world.

At the same time, vast forces are reshaping the world with headlong speed. Under the impact of wars, nationalism, technology and communism, the old order has been shattered. Empires have crumbled; nations once dominant are forced to adapt to shrunken influence. New nations have emerged and are struggling to survive. From North Africa, through the Middle East and South Asia, to the Far East, societies long stagnant are now in vigorous ferment. Social revolution is disrupting their traditional systems of thought and belief, of habit and custom, forcing choices among newer patterns of freedom or despotism. Communist imperialism, still seeking to remold others in its own image, is itself not exempt from the pressure for change both at home and abroad. And over all broods the atom with its promise and its threat.

Thus in a time of rapid change diverse societies must learn to live together on intimate terms. In a divided world they must come to recognize more clearly their common needs and interests and to develop methods and institutions for serving them.

In its dimensions and its urgency the task is staggering.

Nowhere do traditional attitudes fit the new realities. Many inherited concepts and ways of thinking are irrelevant and some are serious barriers to effective thought and action under new conditions. Thus notions of sovereignty and independence need revision to apply to a world where a nation's level of life or survival may depend as much on the actions of other countries as on its own.

More and more the various facets of foreign affairs become a single whole which cannot be dealt with piecemeal. Each thread of policy is tightly woven into one fabric. Policy toward one foreign country must take into account relations with and among many others. Few problems, if any, are purely political or economic or strategic: adequate solutions must take into account all aspects.

Also crucial is the new role of public opinion. As never before it is at once an instrument of foreign policy and a limitation upon it. The ideological struggle, the rapid transmission of information, the spread of self-government, the new international and regional forums, all have transformed the conduct of international affairs from an activity of an elite corps of experts into a broadly based political process. In the democracies, even the wisest policies may prove unavailing without a well-informed and mature public opinion.

In short, in seeking to shape its destiny each nation requires a perspective and a comprehension of unprecedented scope. For none is this truer than for the United States. With limited experience and personnel for foreign affairs, its role as a world leader requires of it a degree of sophistication and insight rarely demanded of any nation. But the problem is by no means confined to the United States. Other nations face a similar challenge in varying degrees.

The ability of governments to meet the challenge will depend ultimately upon the calibre of the men who serve them, the quality of the ideas and thinking on which they can draw, and the degree of understanding and support which they can count on from their citizens.

Hence the need is twofold:

First is the pressing need for widened knowledge and understanding; for more awareness of the nature and complexity of foreign affairs; for more informed and imaginative thinking.

Second is the urgent need for wise and skillful people. There must be experts steeped in the study of geographical areas and other specialized knowledge; but also and perhaps even more importantly, individuals able to analyze the deeper causes of events and to pull them together into a whole.

Only with such talents and understanding will it be possible to apply resources and efforts effectively to developing and preserving an international environment congenial to the freedom and welfare of the people.

II. THE BASIC PURPOSES OF THE CENTER

The Center for International Affairs is designed to serve both the need for knowledge and the need for men.

Its program is based on the premise that a Center at Harvard can fruitfully combine basic research in foreign affairs with advanced study by experienced individuals. Free from the pressures of day-to-day concerns, the Center should be able to provide an environment fostering sustained and systematic analysis of fundamental issues. The joint participation of scholars and mature practitioners should have two-sided benefits. It should make the research more penetrating and significant. At the same time, a period of such work, offering the stimulation of other first-rate minds and opportunity for reflection, should enable the practitioners to deepen their understanding and broaden their perspective. Those are the convictions on which the Center rests.

1. The Need for Knowledge - Research

In the broadest sense, foreign affairs deal with the impact of societies on each other. Many situations can be understood and dealt with only in terms, for example, of (1) the differing values, institutions and outlooks of various societies; (2) the basic forces, both internal and external, making for change in social, political, or economic conditions or affecting national attitudes or interests; (3) effects of such factors on relations among states and other sources of international instability and tensions; and (4) processes for correcting, adjusting or moderating such conditions and effects. Hence sound judgments and effective action require knowledge, insight and analytical capacities of wide scope. And

knowledge regarding many of the essential fields and processes is extremely limited or lacking.

Hence the study of foreign affairs stands at the confluence of many disciplines: of philosophy which colors a nation's view of "reality"; of history which shapes reactions by analogy with past experience; of sociology and political science which can illumine the structure of a community; of economics and of law which reflect its material aspirations and resources and its notions of legitimacy and order; and of various others. Thus many traditional disciplines can contribute to the study of international relations; none of them can encompass its full scope.

Moreover the study of international affairs is not exhausted even by a synthesis of several disciplines. Much of the most significant data is not accessible to research by conventional means. It resides largely in the minds of those who have been responsible for administering programs while technical and social revolutions were daily changing the presuppositions. Furthermore most issues require an understanding of the attitudes and interests of other nations. Their analysis would be greatly facilitated by the presence of seasoned experts from such countries. Their experience would contribute materially to the depth and validity of such study.

Thus the penetrating study of international relations requires the cooperation of many disciplines and many professions and of present and former officials and their experience with vast and often novel practical problems.

The research at the Center would take account of this primary fact. Its program would be designed to foster research which draws on

and combines the thinking and knowledge of academic experts, United States and foreign officials, and others with experience in foreign affairs. Some projects would be individual and others joint efforts, but all would benefit from the informed criticism and insight of the various participants at the Center.

Under this program the Center would regularly invite a few qualified people from government, academic and private life in the United States and from abroad to work at the Center. From this country, officials invited would include experienced officers from the Department of State, the military services and other agencies engaged in foreign activities. From abroad qualified men would be invited from various regions such as Europe, the Middle and Far East and Latin America. In each case the aim would be to obtain first-rate men of experience. In Europe the emphasis would be mainly on recruiting men from the Foreign Offices, Economic Ministries or private life specializing in foreign affairs. From the less developed areas the emphasis would be primarily on obtaining officials and private experts concerned with the process of development in all of its aspects.

This method of combining official, academic and private experts for specific projects should produce more thorough and more useful studies than any of the participants could produce alone:

- (1) It will bring to bear the special resources of Harvard University and the academic community elsewhere;
- (2) It will benefit from the pooling of the wide range of experience and knowledge of the members of the group;

(3) It will assure an informed expression of various national interests and perspectives;

(4) It will focus attention and study on basic and long-range issues which governments tend to neglect; and

(5) The participation of officials who will be returning to responsible positions will provide a natural and effective means for making use of the results of research in the process of policy analysis and formation.

For all these reasons it is believed that if first-rate men can be attracted to the Center both from this country and abroad, its research should be of a quality and character not now feasible elsewhere.

2. The Need for Men - Advanced Training

Their work in the research projects and seminars at the Center will serve to widen the horizons of the participants and improve their capacity for broader responsibility, especially in policy analysis.

More and more in this country and abroad, agencies concerned with foreign activities are recognizing the necessity for advanced training of mature personnel and are searching for suitable methods. The Foreign Service Institute is seeking ways to fill this gap for senior officials, but has not yet developed a system considered to be satisfactory. The courses of the National War College, while extremely valuable, also do not fully meet the need. Apparently this situation also exists in other countries.

A comparable need exists outside of government. Key people in the professions, business, the press and academic life often engage

in activities requiring a deeper understanding of international affairs or influence foreign policy in various ways. Exceptional individuals from such groups would benefit from opportunities to widen their perspective in contact with officials and other experts from this country and abroad.

The Harvard Center believes its activities can make an important contribution to the advanced training of small numbers of outstanding officials and private persons in this country and abroad. It would respond to this need in three ways:

a. Training in Policy Analysis

The Staffs of the State Department and other agencies engaged in foreign affairs include a great many talented and devoted public servants. It is no disparagement of these men to recognize the severe shortage of men qualified for top policy positions in these agencies. The shortage reflects the enormous scale and complexity of the problems to be mastered and the pace of change in contemporary life. Career experience in its early and middle stages does not necessarily equip officials for policy roles in their later career. Service in the field, for example, typically provides experience in reporting, negotiating, representation and related matters, but may offer little opportunity to develop the analytical and creative capacity required for policy formation on a broader basis.

Responsible officers in the agencies concerned are well aware of the problem. The Harvard Center can assist in meeting it. The continuing research projects and related Seminars will be dealing with long-range policy issues in major fields of foreign affairs. The participants from official and private life would be expected to take an active part

in these projects and to contribute drawing on their past experience and on current study.

The research, criticism and discussions, with able participants of varied backgrounds, should enable them to develop their capacity for policy analysis and their understanding of the interplay of political, military, economic and other factors.

b. Broadening Perspective

Under modern conditions, the national interest can be served only by common policy and joint action with other nations on a wide range of complex matters. Thus the conduct and understanding of foreign affairs requires the capacity for seeing problems and actions through the eyes of other nations and relating such perceptions to national needs and purposes. This process of finding common interests and agreeing on joint methods for advancing or protecting them is not easy, where, as today, it often calls for bridging a gulf of culture and history, and for adapting to constantly changing conditions.

The task clearly calls for an uninhibited exchange of ideas and canvass of alternatives. Yet such frankness is extremely difficult to achieve among representatives of governments. Each official feels he must be guarded in his analysis or proposals lest they reflect on the policy of his government or be misinterpreted as indicating an imminent change in its policy. Thus, even among close allies, officials are seldom able to discuss policy with any approach to the same freedom which is considered essential for policy analysis within any government.

Here again the problem also goes beyond governments. The climate of public opinion often determines whether cooperation flourishes

or withers even among friendly nations. If influential private groups in the different countries do not share a common approach and common purpose, their governments will ultimately be unable to take joint action effectively.

Over time these obstacles may become a serious handicap for the free nations in seeking to achieve their aspirations. Faced with a dynamic situation, a rigid policy can become a straight-jacket inhibiting decisive action.

The Harvard Center could assist in solving this dilemma. In the atmosphere of the Center, United States and foreign participants would be able to discuss far more freely the problems likely to arise in the future and alternative ways of meeting them. The seminars, the research projects, and other activities will be directed to presenting, analyzing and prescribing for, such potential issues. Free of their normal obligations, the officials could express views as individuals instead of representatives of their countries.

This process should offer several benefits: (1) it should focus the attention of key individuals of the several nations on future problems and issues and promote thinking about their solution; (2) it should enable the participants from each nation to attain a better understanding of the approach and concepts used by the others in analysis of problems; and (3) it should develop relations among the officials of different nations which would facilitate franker and more useful discussions in their later careers.

c. Insight into Development

Nations comprising well over half the world population are seeking to develop their societies and economies by various means. In this process they will have to modify radically the economic, political and social fabric of their societies. This vast effort is one of the major facts of the world situation both for the nations engaged in it and for the rest of the world. Thus an understanding of what this process will entail is vitally important for them and for others.

The amount actually known on this subject is extremely limited. Much more study will be needed to discover the conditions required for successful development. Such study will range far beyond the strictly economic aspects. It must seek to discover the changes in traditions, habits and institutions required to make static societies sufficiently dynamic to achieve material and social progress for a growing population. And it must seek to examine and predict the collateral consequences of such changes and their effects on stability, interests and attitudes.

The program of the Center will assist in various ways:

(1) The research will seek new knowledge about the process of development and the actions and policies required for progress.

(2) Officials and other experts from the less developed countries should, in this study, enhance their ability to cope with these problems. They can not merely improve the requisite skills and disciplines but also relate their uses specifically to the development process.

(3) The participants from the developed countries should gain an insight into the process of growth and its impact on the societies involved. They should be enabled better to understand the pressures and attitudes generated by growth in their own societies and in relations with outside countries.

Thus such study should itself contribute to better understanding and more effective action both by the less developed countries and by the developed countries in their relations with them.

3. Benefits of the Center for Graduate and Undergraduate Programs

The Center will be directly concerned with the research and advanced training already described. But its formation should produce certain added benefits at Harvard and elsewhere. In particular, the activities of the Center can enrich teaching and training in foreign affairs throughout the University.

a. Graduate Programs

The permanent members of the Center faculty will also devote part of their time to graduate training. Thus the faculty member of the Center in charge of underdeveloped area problems will direct, with appropriate assistance, a training program for younger government officials from underdeveloped areas and graduate students. The Center faculty member concerned with political military strategy will also conduct a seminar in that field for military and civilian graduate students from the Graduate School of Public Administration, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the Law School, Business School, etc. The Center faculty member working on international order will doubtless participate in the Department of Government, the Law School, etc. In these and similar seminars and courses the permanent faculty of the Center can extend its contribution to a much wider circle of graduate students and younger government officials from this country and abroad. In addition selected graduate students with special qualifications might take part in the work of the Center itself.

b. Departmental and Undergraduate Programs

The Center should also have beneficial effects on the teaching and research of departmental specialists in international relations. The Harvard faculty is a reservoir of unusual talent which can contribute to the study of international relations. The Center will provide a stimulus and an environment for such study. For some the Center can make possible periods of research and writing on subjects related to its work.

But the instruction and interest of all should be quickened by association with high level officials and other mature associates of the Center working intensively on foreign affairs problems. In this and other ways the influence of the Center is expected to spread to undergraduate teaching.

c. Other Effects

The Center should produce other beneficial effects. Faculty members who come to the Center from other institutions for a period can be a channel of communication between the Center and their own institutions.

Close cooperative relations will be sought with a number of other agencies engaged in similar activities, especially those in the Boston area, such as the Center of International Studies at M.I.T., the Fletcher School, etc.

In these ways the activities of the Center should quicken the interest in foreign affairs among students and faculty at Harvard, and should make a wider contribution through those coming from institutions elsewhere.

III. OPERATION OF THE CENTER

1. Continuity

The success of the Center will depend on the excellence of the men it attracts as faculty and participants and the environment it creates for their work. For significant research, it is necessary to discover talent, to motivate it, to give it scope and perspective. This takes time, steady effort and continuity.

Profound work is the result of a concern and its disciplined pursuit. Able individuals will cultivate a field only if they consider it significant. And a disciplined intellectual structure is necessary for meaningful criticism and steady progress in any field. To establish the concern and to develop the disciplined structure call for long-term effort requiring patience and distinctiveness of approach.

Continuity will also be important in attracting men of the necessary calibre. This will not be easy in view of the extreme need for such men in their official positions. Only if the various governments are fully convinced that a period at the Center pays genuine dividends in later service will they be willing to release such men for this purpose. It will take time and experience to establish the real advantages of such advanced study at the Center.

In consequence, essential requisites for the Center are:

(1) A nucleus faculty identified with the Center and making a consistent effort to develop international relations as a distinctive field of work.

(2) Long-term financing from the beginning for the basic core of the Center and its operations. If it were under the necessity of "originating" projects to help finance these costs, the Center would be distracted from its major tasks. Special larger research projects will, of course, require separate financing.

2. Conduct of Research

The research activities of the Center will seek to combine two objectives. They will attempt to make the best use of first-rate talent and to pursue studies of basic issues relative to international affairs.

In doing so, the Center will try to avoid two pitfalls:

(1) In foreign affairs, it is always tempting to address study to the topics of current interest. But private agencies, in a university or elsewhere, are often not well-suited for such short-run studies. Usually these are the cases where classified data, not available to outsiders, are most relevant. And in general, the research in government on such short-range matters is at least as competent and well-done as that outside.

On more basic and longer-range issues the situation is reversed. These often require the breaking of new ground or the blending of several disciplines. For such studies government agencies are often not as well qualified as outside experts. The pressure of the more immediate crises tends to divert energy and attention from more basic issues. One result is that policy making must often start with premises which are unexplored for lack of time or staff to analyze them.

Such basic or long-range issues are often especially well-suited to outside study. Classified data are seldom of great consequence for such research. A university may have or be able to attract people with the requisite training and skills and to allow the time for thorough study and for creative thought.

(2) Undue focus on "projects" has its own special hazards. With the wealth of problems, it is not hard to formulate interesting projects which may well be useful. The great difficulty is in assuring that they are carried out by first-rate people who can produce significant work.

There is always real risk of not meeting that standard by getting committed to a particular project and then shopping around for the best available people to conduct it. This danger is most serious when project financing is essential for the maintenance of the research agency.

The Center intends to follow the strict principle of deferring or foregoing even valuable projects unless they can be done by outstanding people.

The plans for the Center are designed to put these principles into practical operation in its research program. It will seek to do so in two ways.

a. Continuing Programs

In the first place, the Center will establish certain fields of continuing concern within which research on one or more specific topics will normally be in progress. In each of these fields, a member of the Center faculty will normally be working and be charged with developing and overseeing other research in that area. In general he will conduct a regular research seminar in that field which will include, as participants,

visiting officials, academic and other persons interested in that field.

Each would be working on the study of a specific topic of his choice, either individually or as a member of a small research team. The seminar would provide a forum for criticism and discussion which would make use of the experience and knowledge of its members.

As the fields of interest and on-going research became known, it would be expected that talented individuals from all over the world, anxious to work in that field, would seek out the Center in order to take advantage of its facilities.

b. Special Projects

The Center would also support research or studies on specific topics related to foreign affairs which did not fall within the continuing programs. It will be receptive to all projects bearing on foreign policy, provided they are conducted by first-rate people, and will strive to provide a community of peers for any outstanding individual willing to risk himself on a serious effort. For such work the Center would afford a forum for criticism and an atmosphere of disciplined study.

Such projects might be proposed and carried out by a Faculty member or a Fellow or might be undertaken by the Center itself. In any case, it would be expected that full use would be made of the knowledge and experience of members and Fellows at the Center in carrying out the project.

These two methods would provide natural and effective ways for solving the problem of meshing qualified and interested people with studies of major importance.

3. Fields of Research

Five major fields suggest themselves as areas of continuing research:

(1) Political-military Strategy

Military policy and its relation to diplomacy have never been more complex. The revolution in modern weapons has undermined many traditional notions as to the role of force at a time when political conditions are in flux and international schisms have never been deeper. The changing situation poses many difficult issues in strategic doctrine, military policy and structure, the role of force and its control, etc. The purpose of the Center would be to analyze these interrelated problems in relation to foreign policy and evolving technological and political developments.

(2) Europe and the Atlantic Community

The rise of other powers, the loss of empire, Soviet control of Eastern Europe and other factors have transformed the position and influence of Europe, and have forced the European nations to seek new relationships among themselves and with the United States.

The Center would be concerned with the whole range of forces and issues affecting Europe and the Atlantic Community including:

(a) European integration, (b) Western and Eastern Europe, (c) Europe and the less developed areas, especially Africa, and (d) Europe and the Atlantic Community.

(3) Problems of Underdeveloped Countries Including Latin America

The problems of underdeveloped countries are being widely studied, but there has been some tendency to deal with them as a single

phenomenon, mainly economic. There is need for more intensive study of their distinctive problems and of the social and political, as well as economic, aspects.

The Harvard Center would select specific areas for study in these terms. The existing work in the Middle East Center and the Pakistan Project would be a starting point and could be supplemented by studies in Latin America and perhaps Africa.

(4) Far Eastern Problems

The Far East poses a wide spectrum of issues. The most central concern the future roles and influence of Japan, Communist China and Nationalist China and India in the area and the interplay among them. The outcome will depend on a complex of political, economic, military and other factors, which require intensive research and analysis.

In its studies, the Center would draw on and complement research now going on and projected in this general area under the Far East program at Harvard.

(5) Problems of International Order

Perhaps the basic problem of international relations is to develop a new international order to take the place of the 19th century world system. What is required is not only a study of explicitly world organizations such as the United Nations and its agencies, but of the basis of international order in its widest sense. Hence this field would embrace research in underlying factors and principles affecting world economic and political relations as well as the maintenance of peace. In this context the Center might explore, for example, such

matters as scientific progress and cooperation, population, the impact of religions and ideologies, etc.

The foregoing list, it may be noted, does not include the Soviet Union or communism as a separate topic. There are several reasons for this. In each of the fields listed, these would, of course, be relevant factors to the studies in that context. The Soviet Union and communism are now specific subjects of study at the Russian Research Center at Harvard, on which the new Center would be able to draw for data and experts. To make this a separate area of the Center for International Affairs could involve duplication and confusion. Nevertheless, some of the special topics explored at the Center will doubtless include communism and the U.S.S.R. as they affect other aspects of foreign affairs.

It should also be stressed that the Center would not attempt to cover all the various aspects of these areas at any one time. Indeed, in accordance with the underlying concept already outlined, the actual work in any and all fields at any specific time will depend on the availability of first-rate men sharing those interests.

4. Staff and Other Participants

(1) Permanent Nucleus

The Center should have about four to six persons with the rank of professor permanently identified with the Center. This nucleus will be essential in order to establish the identity of the Center and a distinctive approach as well as continuity in its program. One of these would be the Director of the Center. These permanent members would normally be responsible for specific areas of study and advanced training.

This nucleus could also serve another purpose. The Government and international agencies frequently need qualified people to perform specific tasks for limited periods as consultants, members of delegations and other special assignments. By experience and their work at the Center the permanent faculty should be well equipped for such short-term assignments. The aim would be to staff and organize the Center so that members could be made available for such purposes on relatively short notice as a regular part of its activities. Such a plan will help to meet an urgent public need and also serve as a stimulus for members of the Center.

(2) Harvard Faculty Associates

One aim of the Center is to make full use of the intellectual resources of Harvard and to interest the ablest individuals to concern themselves with the study of international affairs. For this purpose the Center will arrange for members of various faculties to devote themselves for specified periods to research on specific topics in the international field. Members of faculties of other universities in the United States and abroad would be invited to come to the Center as Fellows.

(3) Fellows of the Center

In order to attract unusual individuals from elsewhere, the Center should make provision for a group of Fellows, chosen for excellence, from the United States and abroad. In general, the Fellows would be drawn from government, academic life, business, the professions and the press; and most would be between 35 and 45, though some would be older. They should be given maximum latitude in the length of time they

would spend at the Center with perhaps a normal minimum of six months and a maximum of two years. Because of the small number of participants, selectivity can be high. Demands on any one profession or governmental agency would at the same time not be exorbitant. Financial arrangements should be generous.

While each Fellow should be free to select his field of primary concern, the majority would undoubtedly address themselves to one of the chief problem areas of the Center and should be strongly encouraged to participate in current research activities. On the other hand, the presence of a given Fellow might make it possible for the Center to add to its research fields.

(4) Research Assistants

In carrying on the research projects and related seminar programs, the Center would regularly employ six to eight research assistants as part of its normal resources.

Where major research projects were undertaken requiring substantial personnel or other expenses for extended periods, they would be separately financed by requests for specific grants for that purpose.

5. Publications

Essential to the work of the Center would be publication of a series of books and monographs resulting from its research activities. In scope and subject matter they would be of value and interest mainly to a specialized group engaged in advanced study and conduct of foreign affairs in the United States and foreign countries. This audience will be important and influential but necessarily limited in number. Hence funds will be needed to subsidize a substantial part of the costs of editing and publishing such research volumes.

In addition it would be useful for the Center to publish a quarterly journal as a forum for experts in foreign affairs. This would serve several functions. Its articles would help to evaluate current research and to identify areas requiring further analysis and study. It would also serve as a medium for publishing shorter studies by Fellows at the Center. Finally it could provide a means for continuing discussion and debate among officials and others who had participated at the Center.

6. Facilities

(1) Building

To be fully effective the Center will require a building to accommodate the faculty and Fellows with space for library, meeting rooms and administrative facilities.

The benefits of intimate association will not be achieved unless the various participants in the program are close together under conditions favoring easy communication and frequent discussion.

Ideally, the Center should be located near the Littauer Center for convenient use of its facilities and to foster contact between the graduate seminars and training in the Graduate School of Public Administration and the participants in the Center activities.

(2) Washington Office

The Center would benefit by having modest office facilities in Washington. This should include one or two offices and a secretary.

Such facilities would serve several purposes:

(a) They would greatly facilitate contact with officials of the United States government and foreign Embassies for purposes of recruiting participants, and obtaining information.

(b) They would be available for use by members of the Center

or Fellows in pursuing research requiring material or interviews in Washington.

(c) The Office could assist in keeping touch with people interested in the Center or its activities, many of whom would be located in Washington or visitors there from time to time.

Such an office could, of course, be maintained jointly with other schools or agencies of the University which might find such facilities useful.

IV. ADVANTAGES OF LOCATION AT HARVARD

As a locus for such a Center Harvard offers unique advantages.

1. The faculties of the University, including its professional schools, provide unrivalled resources for the Center. They include many members whose research has been enriched by experience in the conduct of foreign policy in its various aspects, who can assist the Center with their insights and experience. To make full use of the abilities and experience of members of the various faculties, the Center will need funds to free such men for specified periods to devote themselves to study and research in the international field.

2. The Center can also draw on many of the established programs of the University. The various centers for regional study (Russia, the Far East and the Middle East) contain accumulated research and outstanding experts from which the Center will benefit; the Defense Seminar which has been in operation for several years in the Graduate School of Public Administration will be a valuable adjunct of the Center. The international programs in some of the professional schools such as the Law School, the Business School, the Graduate School of Public Administration and the School of Public Health will all reinforce the activities in the new Center.

In many ways the Center can be the capstone for these varied activities now under way at Harvard. It should add a new dimension to some, supplement others, and pull all of them into a closer relation with each other. And the men which the Center brings to Harvard should benefit all of these existing programs.

3. Its presence at Harvard will contribute to the Center in another way. Crucial to its program are the plans for drawing men of affairs and

outside scholars to the Center to enable it to achieve the blend of academic and practical analysis so essential for most useful research in foreign affairs. This plan will not be effective unless first-rate men can be attracted to the Center. Under the best of conditions this will not be easy. With the heavy demands for such men it will be hard to pry them loose from their official positions for the necessary time.

In doing so the prestige of Harvard will be a tremendous asset. The University is known throughout the world. The large number of foreign students who have been trained in the undergraduate, graduate and professional schools is a reservoir of interest and support for the activities of the Center. These alumni throughout the world will be invaluable in selecting and attracting officials and private persons of the quality essential for the working of the plan.

4. Finally, the existing library resources at the University, especially those of Widener, the Law School, the Business School and the Graduate School of Public Administration, are an invaluable asset for research which could not be duplicated at any other location. The Center will need to accumulate and maintain a modest working library but can depend on these other collections for a vast amount of its material.

V. FINANCING

1. Basic Core

The basic concept of the Center and of its method of operation imposes certain requirements as to financing. The benefits outlined presuppose reliable support of its essential elements over an extended period. The Center must have financial resources adequate to insure (a) continuity of its activities over an extended period, and (b) enough participants with differing backgrounds to provide varied experience and mutual stimulus.

This basic core requires long-term financing for several components:

- a. A nucleus faculty equivalent to four chairs.
- b. Fellowships for a sufficient number of officials, scholars and others to achieve the stimulus of different backgrounds.
- c. Necessary research assistants, administration, and funds for travel and publications.

2. Expanding and exploiting the Core

The above factors are considered to be the essential minimum for launching the Center on the program described. Financing at that level would not, however, take full advantage of the opportunities which the Center would offer for valuable contributions in foreign affairs. With further financing its activities could and should be expanded in two ways:

a. Developing the core

Once the Center was operating efficiently at the initial level, the scale of operations could usefully be expanded in terms of the topics of study and the number who would be invited to the Center as Fellows. This expansion would require larger funds for most of the Center's expenses in order to make available the necessary facilities.

b. Specific Projects

The core financing would cover research by the Faculty and Fellows with modest travel for that purpose. Such activities would not, however, exhaust the possibilities offered by the Center for useful work. Many special projects would require much larger sums for personnel, field work, travel and related costs. In some cases such activities might be carried on jointly with other institutions or agencies in the United States and abroad. In others, the Center may organize advisory services for governments, especially in the less developed areas similar to the Pakistan Project. Over time the existence of former Fellows of the Center in many countries should greatly facilitate the carrying out of such larger projects, both in attracting qualified personnel and obtaining access to information.

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